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NOTES

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AMERICAN AFFAIRS.

By E. L.

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THIS paper, written in February, 1862, was forwarded to London for publication, but was unfortunately mislaid.

Having been recovered, the author thinks it is still not too late to publish it in its original form. This sufficiently explains what may now appear anachronisms in the following pages, as well as the absence of any reference to events which have taken place, and to the progress of the lamentable struggle between North and South during the last year ; which, however, scarcely affect the general principles which he discusses.

But this much may be added. The success of the Confederates in the field, against fearful odds—their devotion—their constancy—and courage and determination—contrasted, as these have been, with the vain-glorious boasting—the wretched failures—the fierce, cruel, vengeful, purblind, obstinate spirit and conduct of the North, have commanded the admiration of the world. This, together with the deeper insight which we have obtained into the real principles and purposes of the contending parties, have greatly modified, if not entirely changed the current of public opinion in this country. For, as every mail from America made it more and more manifest that the Confederates were fighting in defence of their own freedom, not for the maintenance of their “peculiar institution,” and that President Lincoln and his supporters in the North were waging a bitter and aggressive war for domination, conquest, and revenge, and that the abolition of slavery was not a principal, or even a secondary object with them then, and it is not to be wondered that the sympathies of the British people, at first almost universally with the North, came to be almost as universally with the South ; and we are therefore now prepared to hail with something more than satisfaction, the issue of this fratricidal conflict, the establishment of the South as an independent State,—taking wise and effectual measures to root out the cancer of slavery from among them—an issue, which, to every dispassionate observer, is no longer a matter of doubt, but merely of time.

NOTES ON AMERICAN AFFAIRS.

THE more recent affairs of the United States have so much engaged the attention of the British nation, and been so much subjected to public discussion, that anything novel can hardly now be looked for; yet there seems so much peculiar reticence in some quarters, and so much *ex parte* declamation in others, that a few desultory remarks on some of the prominent topics belonging to this subject may not be superfluous.

It is astonishing to observe how much ignorance, bigotry, and declamation, have on both sides characterized the discussion of the slave question. The very attempt to reason on principles advanced by slavery advocates, has been sneered at or scolded down as a tampering with infidelity, tyranny, or vice. Every consideration but that which contains invective and reprobation, has been *tabooed*. Yet we condescend to argue calmly with the subtle Brahmin on his Shaster vagaries—with the credulous Jew on his cabalistic phantasms—with the Mahometan on his spurious miracles and persecuting spirit—and with the Sceptic on his sciolisms—why not be equally patient and dispassionate with the slave-owner on his “Institution,” prejudice, or peculiar views, which are deeply ingrained in his nature

from birth and education? And the subject is admittedly of vast importance, imperiously demanding calm and truthful examination. It might at least blunt our acrimony, and inculcate moderation in its treatment, to reflect that it was the mother country—England—that first inflicted the scourge of Slavery on her American colonists, contrary to their wishes and remonstrances, and to the neglect of which are to be attributed many of the horrors they are now suffering.

If Slavery existed nowhere else but in the Southern States of America, the fact that there alone live more than four millions of slaves, and eight millions of whites—the lot of both, for weal or woe, inextricably bound up together—should make us pause before committing ourselves to hasty and dogmatical generalization. This conduct seems partly to have arisen from losing sight of general principles, and wandering into collateral and extraneous ones, such as controverted passages of Scripture—comparisons of the temporal state of slaves with the lower population of free countries, etc.

If we are to begin to argue with the abettors of Slavery, it must be on principles acknowledged by both sides. Presuming, then, that both are influenced by reason and sound Christianity, we assent that, abstractedly speaking—

1st, Slavery, so called, is an object which (paradoxical as it may appear) as a whole, is unattainable. It can only reach one-half of a human being—his body; it cannot control the soul, however much the futile attempt to compass this, may indirectly torture, pervert, and degrade it. Thought is free.

2nd, Man being a responsible creature, and, as such, endowed by his Maker with one of his divine attributes—Free-will; to attempt forcibly to control this, to the extent

which Slavery implies, is to defeat the end of his being, and avowedly to oppose the will of God.

3rd, The command of the Saviour is to "do unto others as we would have them do to us," and this is expressly disobeyed by treating a man as a slave.

If these three propositions alone were admitted and acted upon, they would cut up Slavery in Christian nations by the root. And they are admitted by slave-owners in the American States, with this serious qualification, however, that they are not applicable to the negro. They assert he is not a man, in the usual sense of the word, but a different species—a permanent variety—or a hybrid with the ape—or some such hypothesis. But zoological or ethnological opinions of this sort cannot avail; they are unproved; and, even with the assumption that the negro's intellect, at least in social and political aspects, may not be equal to that of the white, it cannot in calm reason be denied, that all the essential and specific attributes of human nature are possessed by him. If his mind be supposed to be of lower grade, this is only an additional argument to treat him with the greater tenderness and care, as not being equally able with the white to protect, and legislate for, himself.

As to abolition: we must look at things as we find them. Now, here we perceive ourselves in presence of four millions of slaves, and eight millions of free men. It is not the question, why there comes to be so many slaves, or why and how Slavery was introduced here, but what is to be done with the slaves? Immediate emancipation, it is only necessary to mention, one would think, to denounce it. Then, for the interest and welfare of both parties, what is to be done? I should suppose the most thorough-going Abolitionist, if he had the power, and, at the same time, the awful responsibility of decision, would pause to consider the practical

and immediate solution of so complex and formidable a problem. If the Southern formed an independent State, it is probable that, left to themselves, untortured by the attacks and objurgations of strangers, feeling their responsibility in the eyes of Christendom, and, at the same time, conscious of their limited power, they would spontaneously slacken the fetters of the negro, and introduce ameliorations that would pave the way to abolition. A few steps they might take in such a case, safe as it would seem for themselves, and of the highest importance to the slave. For example, legalize marriage, and prohibit separation of families—make them *adstricta glebæ*, unless under the sacred sanction of a court of justice; prepare a code of equitable and beneficent laws for their benefit, and appoint independent stipendiary magistrates to watch over their execution; and educate them prospectively for future sound and safe freedom.

It is quite clear, even from the fact of secession alone, that the South has no fear of a negro insurrection, which, if it were practicable, they were sure their enemies at the North, sooner or later, would organize; and this feeling must chiefly have arisen from their conviction, well or ill founded, that, on the whole, they have not been ill-treated; and the fact of the steady increase of the coloured population, from natural causes, is certainly a strong indication of this being the truth. Nor must it be forgotten, while we talk so loudly of the welfare of the blacks, that we ought to have, at the least, equal regard to the safety and welfare of the whites; and, in all our arguments and views with regard to Slavery in the South, we must remember that we have to deal with a free, intelligent, and high-spirited people, over whom we have no political power, nor can assert any intellectual superiority; and who, while they

may yield to courteous persuasion, or just and kind remonstrance, will never submit to dictation or invective.

But Slavery, lamentable and deplorable as it is to the slave, and not a little so in the end, even to his owner, is not the culmination of the misery of the slave. The *Slave Trade* bears that horrible distinction. To trace this hellish traffic from its beginning to its end, is to harrow up the feelings of the most stoical of mankind, except those outcasts of humanity, who are engaged in and profit by it. And what has hindered this atrocious traffic—which even icy hearted cupidity dare not attempt to defend, whatever it may do with its relative slavery—from being hunted with execration from the ocean, but, in this respect, the unreasonable, impractical and selfish Government of the United States. But for their sordid and factious complicity, this murderous manstealing—condemned alike by the laws of God and man—would long since have been exterminated. Their ag and finances have been its *pabulum* and protection. Although passing a law in their Congress, constituting it Piracy, they perversely refused under penalty of war, to permit any vessel bearing their flag, even though suspected of being a slaver, to be boarded and examined—thus converting their law into shame and derision, and their national banner into an aegis of brutality and crime. And did the North, when Congress was freed from the presence of its Southern members, give the world proof of its sincerity to suppress this evil, by yielding the right of search to other nations which they were anxious to grant to it. No, not a word or a hope was uttered on the subject. Visions of the re-establishment of the Union were floating before them, and compromises and “Fugitive Laws” might to this end become essential. They had even withdrawn every war vessel of their slave squadron, and left their duties and treaties to be

fulfilled by the ships of other powers, without even *pro tempore* giving them the right to search. And yet this is the state for which we reserve all our political courtesy, and partial neutrality! our rage against slavery is so intense, that we forget there is such a *trifle* as the Slave Trade.

The Government of Mr. Lincoln it is true, has lately, for the first time since the law of piracy was long ago enacted, followed out its sanctions, by executing a man of the name of Gordon, the Captain of a slaver, as a sort of peace-offering to appease the indignation of the civilised world. But until the test of truth and earnestness is displayed, and the cordial and untrammelled right of search—not for a few years only as has quite recently been done, but without limitation—is yielded for so sacred a purpose to other nations no sacrifices of this description, can ever create confidence or eradicate suspicion.

This detestable traffic should be constituted piracy by every Christian nation—the mutual right of search for slaves, alone, should be without exception, and if the American Government, whether United or Divided, will not agree to this, it should be compelled to submit—no nation has a right to outrage human nature.

In connection with this subject of the Negro which we have been considering, we shall shortly allude to another not a little interesting. If the pestilential marshes and burning Lowlands of the Tropics are to be cultivated, it must be, it would seem, by the coloured races; nature appears to say so by exactly adapting the one to the other. And yet how is this to be accomplished without the skill and the guidance of the white man? Such an influence and power does not necessarily imply Slavery, though it might to a certain degree involve a regulated and mild coercion. However we may stickle about freedom it is im-

possible to believe that the same law unmodified, can at present apply to a Bechuana and a Briton. Are not the idle able bodied poor compelled in England to work, or food withheld ; as the Apostle St. Paul says, " If a man will not work neither shall he eat." And, though protesting against slavery, the sufferings to which it subjects its victims, and the vices and penalties to which it condemns the slave owner, it is impossible to conceive how the injunction of the Creator to cultivate and replenish the earth can, in the case of the Equatorial regions, be carried out unless the body of the Black and the brain of the White, be combined to effect it. Without this, the most lovely and fruitful lands of the earth must be abandoned to the brute and the Savage.

In comparing the acts and views of the contending parties of the North and South, we find them of the South proclaiming, that they secede from the Union, based on Free will, because their interests, feelings, and a desire for national independence impel them to it, and they wish to accomplish this in peace. The North desires to compel the South by war to remain in the Union—no longer founded in concord and free will—but on force and subjection. It too has its views of interest and ambition, such as, high tariffs obviously to favour its own manufactures, and to oblige the South to trade with it alone—to acquire valuable investments in slave property—and to wield the whole political power of the Union and enjoy the consequent possession of all prizes of patronage and emolument. Nor is it merely the South which the North is so anxious to bring back to the motherly embrace of the abstraction called "Union." It is the despotic control of all the rivers and highways, and of all unoccupied or uncivilised territory in North America, as well as what may be gained by future Filibustering. The South, at least at present, is satisfied with its territory, and

wars defensively. The North is not, and wars offensively. Both seek their selfish interests ; but the one would attain them without dictating to the other—the other, by unjustifiable and forcible means. If there were, at this moment no slavery in the South, it can hardly be doubted, that the same mutual alienation and dislike would exist. The two powers are not formed for amalgamation but separation. Enlarged statesmanship should have understood Union as a provision to subserve only a temporary purpose. Everything tended as the States advanced in population and power, to disunion, as we now fatally perceive. The possessions of the states are already far too large to be adequately governed by a weak central Executive, and it could never be stronger while state governments and democratical representative principles were present to restrain it. It was never capable of fusing all the discordant elements and various races and states into one homogeneous mass. On the contrary, the principle there, is division—and to this principle in a great measure is to be ascribed the advancement of the people.

The North is going against the law of *Individualism*, which, both in state and person, is a main distinction of America. The selfish independent energy is too strong for a united compact empire—the centrifugal force is far too strong for the centripetal. The principle of their government has hitherto been that of the inverted pyramid—the many ruling the few—contrary to reason, experience, and analogy. When the majority of mankind attains sufficient intelligence, integrity, and independence, then only can such a principle be admitted, as the fundamental law of the political constitution.

There is ample territory in North America for many States, and it is their interest, and the interest of mankind,

that it should be divided in many. The Northerners contemplate *their* dominion over the whole continent of the two Americas, and that they shall direct a power whose ukase shall rule or ruin the world.

Have they not sufficiently large possessions already? Can they find any difficulty in defining boundary lines, or in employing themselves in adjusting by anticipation probable disputes of future change and extension, as they might arise? Much more easily and profitably than engaging in their present broils and outrages. Can they not settle down to peaceful independence, and content themselves with the enviable and prosperous position they might now hold, without ruining themselves and their brethren by unavailing, disastrous, and merciless combats, and eternally coveting the dominions of other States? If these be their present practices and aspirations, what would they be with vastly greater power, when the undisguised aim of these humble-minded and gentle republicans should be gratified, and their grasp extend from Labrador to Cape Horn, with all the islets and icebergs thereto belonging—not even excepting the transatlantic dominions of the David of their Jonathan—the Czar of Oonalaska.

There does exist evidently in the people and country of North America the materials of a great future race, but there is a want of the element of political cohesion to mould them into one great empire. Neither mutual attraction nor compulsion *ab extra* is to be found; every one is for himself. While the illimitable extent of productive, unpossessed wilderness, invites interminable migration, and calls into full play individual energy, which is pernicious, at least in the first instance, to the production of order, subordination, social qualities, and local attachments,—the recluse and squatter habits are apt to degenerate into those of the savage.

In any view, however, it is a mistake to consider slavery as the great stumbling-block between the North and South. There was no interference whatever by the general Government and Congress with the laws of the Southern States in regard to that question, and that none was meant, was offered to be guaranteed to them, and very possibly would be so still, though, indeed it may be alleged, that each belligerent distrusts the promises and engagements of the other. Moreover, the South had the whole power of the supreme government actually exerted in favour of their "Institution" over the whole States, in the memorable and merciless fugitive law, which indeed was no dead letter to them, whatever *memento mori* it might have been to the poor negro. If slavery did not now exist in the South, still dislike and hatred between it and the North have arisen. There are sufficiently varied and powerful elements of strife—personal, commercial, geographical, and political—to rend asunder now, or at a near future period, the Union, and the late proposition of Mr Lincoln, of a pecuniary arrangement for emancipation, while it may be taken as a voluntary admission of the danger and difficulty of the struggle, seems to argue either a want of knowledge of the true causes of hostility, or a mere subtle artifice of policy.

We may reason and speculate generally on slavery, but the total want of personal experience and individual sympathy with the feelings and ideas of slaveholders, greatly deprives our views of accuracy and authority. The abolition party in the North comprises a very small number of its inhabitants, yet if any people under the sun might be supposed best to see the nature of the evils of the system in the South, it must be the North; how happens it, then, that there are so few who are zealously determined to abolish it, or found to treat with kindness the coloured

people that may reside there, whatever novelists may say to the contrary? Either it is not so bad, or more difficult to deal with, than we imagine; or else the moral susceptibilities of the North are comparatively *effete*.

Yet the mistaken belief that slavery was the main point of dispute between the North and South, is the cause that has all along obscured and distorted our conception of the nature and consequences of the disastrous war, so ominously reminding us of the turbulence and passions of the French Revolution, that has been going on between them—a war, it is true, not, at least at first, characterized by bloodshed, but still these bunkum battlings have not the less been ruinous to their finances, to future peace, and to the vital interests of other nations. It is this belief, that the men of the North were the champions of liberty, and those of the South the abettors of the “Institution,” that so long led the British press and public to take so marked an interest in the success of the former, and, though professing neutrality, to lean to that side; for we cannot deny, that even when the battle of Manassas had proved that the South could maintain its ground, we recognised a blockade we knew was inefficient, and thus conceded an immense advantage to the one party, as contrasted with the other; because naval warfare was the chief point on which the North was, from the first, superior, and, if not the only, was the main means by which they could hope for ultimate success. To the same purblind view, must also be ascribed the neglect of the important consideration, that the South, and not the North, is our natural customer and friend. We were doing everything that circumstances admitted of, at least negatively, for the North, and yet they were pouring out against us the most envenomed tirades, apt to insult us, and clamorous for war. Not even their admission that their

legal blockade was nugatory, by sinking stone-fleets to destroy the Southern harbours, and thereby displaying reckless hostility to friendly nations, by depriving their ships of harbours of refuge, could draw us from our *ex parte* neutrality. Acts of lawless outrage these, defended not because they were just or even politic, but because they suited their selfishness at the time, and had before been done by others in periods of despotic barbarism and cruelty.

We also, in our code of neutrality, affect to cast aside the vital question to which the South so urgently appeals, as proving their right of being recognised as independent—the doctrine of State Rights. Yet we act on the construction applied to it by their antagonists, in understanding the Union to be one and indivisible. On the broad principle asserted by all the States, the will of the people is the only source of power and title to govern. This alone, and divested of all special pleading and technicality, gives each a power to secede from the other, as it did originally to unite with them, and a better title too, than the whole had to secede from Great Britain, when they were merely colonies and dependencies, not separate and independent States. Suppose every State but New York and Massachusetts had chosen to secede, would Mr Seward still have maintained his *Fetish* doctrine that these two States were “the Union,” and the rest “rebels?” as he childishly terms 8,000,000 persons, possessing a rich and enormous territory, composed of thirteen separate States, with their governments as enlightened as his own? Yet the principle is the same. Nor is there a word said in the framing of their constitution, that a majority shall have, in such a contingency, absolute and indefeasible power over a minority. To think that a Federal alliance of free democratical States are to be eternally tied together by a parchment band, when no

penalty is attached to secession, and then to be persecuted with fire and sword, because they wish peacefully to withdraw from this connection, seems a monstrous perversion of the words freedom and free-will, and another mode of proclaiming that "Might makes right."

We are frequently admonished that if we aid or countenance the South, we should be fostering slavery, because forsooth, slavery is there established. How, then, came we to help Russia against the first Napoleon—the French having no slaves, and Russia thirty millions! Politically speaking, we have nothing to do with the constitution of a country in our national relations with it. We might wish Turkey to be Christian instead of Mahometan—Spain to be Protestant instead of bigotedly Popish, just as we might wish the Southern States would abolish slavery; but that is apart from the present question. It is no part of our duty as a nation to carry on a crusade in favour of Negro slaves. But are we sure, if the North should triumph, that our proteges the negroes will be better off with a Fugitive Law more stringent than before; or with immediate emancipation, which might be equivalent to letting loose four millions of savages on a civilized people.

In considering the relations of the United States, or rather of the North to other countries, and especially to England, we ought to remind ourselves of a truism, which, trite and simple as it is, we have too long kept out of sight—that "boasting is not power." They hold up to us the extent of their mercantile marine, and bid us see in that their equality with us in naval strength. But a merchant navy, and a war navy, are not convertible terms. Look at the extent of the German commercial marine, compared with that of France, and even of Denmark, yet see the disparity in naval

strength. Americans boast of their military exploits and glory, and bid us look at their wars with Mexico and England. The enemy to be coped with in the former case was a contemptible one, not even a match for wild Comanches. Moreover, it was the new military weapon, which the Mexicans had not, the revolver, that was the chief means of victory. The history of their first revolutionary struggle with England has yet to be written impartially. It was waged at every disadvantage to England—distance from home—adverse climate—comparative uselessness of regular troops in that which was most decisive—guerilla and bush fighting, besides the active assistance to the revolted colonies, furnished by France, Spain, and Holland—these were the causes of the success of which the Yankees are so proud. And, again, in the last war with Britain, what did we see? England was warring against the whole of Europe; and that was the time when the people who can “whip creation” chose to assail her. “England’s weakness—America’s opportunity,” is not the motto that chivalrous valour would adopt. Three or four of our weak frigates, poorly manned, were taken or sunk by American line-of-battle ships, miscalled “frigates,” much superior in sailing qualities, in weight, and number of guns, and in the complement of their crews; of these crews, moreover, many, and those the most warlike, were composed of discontented Englishmen, forced from their country by the ruthless pressgang. Yet, wherever anything like equality occurred, we know what happened—to the Chesapeake, the Essex, and the Argus. And where on land was the proof of soldiership? Defeat and capture by wholesale of their armies invading Canada. At New Orleans, when the British were repulsed, it was not the talent or courage of the Americans that was displayed, but the rashness of the

English commander, sacrificing his men to the rifles of their enemies, who were safely entrenched behind cotton bags—and thus taking the bull by the horns, as was also foolishly done at Bunker's Hill.

We allow ourselves to slide too easily into the delusion, originated and fostered by the American press, that their higher class citizens are all "Washingtons," and the lower "Hawkeyes." Their novelists, newspapers, and "know-nothings," have so rung the changes on their national glorification, that people seem to have indolently taken it for granted, that they are what they assert themselves to be—a great and a good people, advocates of all right, and indomitable enemies of all wrong. How otherwise than under some such delusion, could for a moment have been listened to, except with a smile of astonishment and ridicule, what is called the "*Monroe doctrine*," whereby they would autocratically proclaim themselves the despotic arbiters of all America—proscribe the acquirement of a foot of soil on that continent by every other power, as interloping usurpers, and ignore the facts that Britain had an empire there, and that the French and others had possessions in America, acquired centuries before their own separation from the mother country. They acknowledge no public law but what suits themselves. Passion and boasting are their favourite moods of mind—power and pelf the objects of their adulation. Faction and ambition are the guides of their statemanship, and the trickery of hucksters their diplomacy, of which the suppression of the map (decisive of the question of boundary in favour of England) by Webster, in his negotiation with Lord Ashburton, was an instance. In their foreign disputes they decline arbitration, when they fear justice; they refuse the right of search, because it would annihilate the slave trade. They keep boundary questions unsettled,

that a door may be kept open for threats of hostility, to favour intrigue or party spirit. They do all in their power to sap the loyalty of Ireland and our colonies, and talk unblushingly of annexing them. What would Mr Seward say, if Lord Russell were to return the compliment, with reference to Maine and Oregon? On the least shadow of dispute or misapprehension with England, they instantly threaten war. They call rebellion from the mother country a glorious heroic revolution, and unfairly judge all its antecedents and concomitants, not by the light of the eighteenth, but that of the nineteenth century. They contemptuously rejected the humane invitation of the nations to relinquish privateering, when it seemed a winning game for them to play—the instant it appears the opposite, without being at the pains to assign any other reason, they unblushingly adopt the proposal.

The affair of the Trent brought out into strong relief, the salient points of the character of this people, their unreasonable selfishness, vain glory, hatred of England, indisposition to submit to the laws of equity, and a shrinking back from all their false pretences, when boldly met. Had the disposition of their government been frank and friendly, that *contretemps* could not have happened; or, happening, could not have been endorsed by the people as it was. A kindly honourable power would not for a moment have smiled upon an act which it knew England would receive as an insult, whether rigid law permitted it or not.

One of their habits of diplomacy with us has been, to demand, in matters of dispute, a great deal more than they had a right to; and then, by affecting to yield a little, gain more than they had a title to expect. If we were to follow their example of denying asseverations, and casuistically inferring motives, we might say that the American Govern-

ment had directed Captain Wilkes to commit the outrage on the Trent, for the purpose of expending any war feelings in England on a trivial point, which could, when they pleased, be easily explained away, and thus place an obstacle in the way of our acknowledging the independence of the Southern Confederacy, from our [indisposition to re-awaken hostile sentiments.

Had England been influenced by no higher motives, interest alone would have led her to recognise the South, and disallow a buckram blockade, and then the Union would have been instantly dissevered.

Although the whole conduct of Great Britain to the United States, and more particularly to the North, has been conciliatory and forbearing, the most outrageous clamour and abuse, have been recklessly hurled against her. Every motive of her conduct has for a series of years been studiously perverted. When she emancipates her slaves, it is with the insidious object of ruining slave property in America—When she urges the suppression of the slave-trade, it has the selfish object of benefiting her own slave colonies. When she is obliged to coerce a tyrannical Rajah, she is yielding to the inveterate imperiousness of her disposition. When she punishes the cunning and treachery of China, she is ambitiously aiming at its subjugation. When she represses crime in Ireland, she is a persecuting unrelenting bigot. When, for the sake of peace, she yields to American bluster, she is cowardly ; and when she calmly maintains her rights, she is insolent and unjust. They repudiate her courtesies equally with her pecuniary loans. For friendly considerate neutrality, they vow undying vengeance. “*Odisse quem læseris.*” England is the scape-goat for all their angry and malevolent passions—the cause of all their evils ; and yet this is the people to be hugged

to her bosom, with the affectionate yearnings of kindred, while they are showing, on every occasion, the inveterate hatred of family discord ! These the loyal "cousins" to stand by us in the hour of national peril, when we know, that if there is a people in the world that would rejoice in the downfall of Britain, it is the American of the North—they who are ever in the front rank of our enemies, whenever we are in perplexity or danger from other nations—who, in 1812, suddenly declared war against us, while we were combating Europe, and persisted in it though the *casus belli*, the orders in council, were instantly rescinded—a nation who, in the face of every obvious principle of political economy, forms protective tariffs that must operate chiefly against Britain, and commits itself to perpetual jealousy and rivalry !

This bad feeling is not of yesterday, it is not now first shown, when, as a nation, they are run mad, in the heat of civil broil and furious passions ; but it has, on the contrary, characterised them for a long period. They have nurtured a pre-disposition to hostility, and every act of sudden contact, or apparent difference of opinion, calls forth "indignation meetings," and war manifestoes.

In prominent relief to this is their conduct to other powers, with the exception of Spain, with which it suits their grasping views on Cuba to maintain a fretful aggressive spirit, and whose weakness emboldens their cupidity. What has been their studied politeness to France, and obtrusive blandishments to Russia ? Curious enough it is, to notice this favouritism to Russia, and scape-goatism to England. Contrasted amiabilities ! proceeding from the same elevated mental proclivity, though leading to very opposite results. But who that is capable of observation does not see in all this what our conduct ought to be to such a people—a spirit

of caution and watchfulness, and a determination to treat them just as they deserve—never to permit the least infringement of our obvious rights, or to place ourselves in the slightest degree of dependence on them, either commercially or politically—to treat them simply with the justice, courtesy, and forbearance, that becomes us to all enlightened and Christian powers, and let them follow their own course. Every concession is only construed into evidence of weakness, and leads to fresh aggression, so that for their sakes, as well as for our own, it is our duty to eschew this.

They might have followed a more intelligent and noble career. They might have been proud rather than jealous of their ancient mother country, from which they have derived everything they chiefly boast of, and the common glory of which they have inherited; and they ought to have rejoiced in, instead of being envious of her eminence among the nations. It was in reality their interest, as well as their duty, to cultivate with us relations of intimacy and alliance. The struggle of the revolution had left them victorious and independent, and, as the winning party, they could afford to forget mutual animosities. The French colonists of Canada, the Dutch of the Cape, still look with filial partiality on France and Holland; but such kindly sentiments are alien to the surly red-man nature of these assuming republicans. Strange, though almost every name of eminence America can pride herself upon is British, hardly a solitary instance can be found of a Federal American being able to look calmly at present circumstances, or to be dispassionate or manly enough to do justice to England, so hood-winked are they, or so fearful of the violent enmity of party, or the aboriginal amenity of Lynch law; and their keenest apologists are their greatest slanderers, when they admit that a truculent mob and

licentious press rule the nation. What matters it to other countries that there are (what indeed will never be disputed) sterling Christian gentlemen and able men among them, in all ranks of society, if they have no influence or moral courage? But it is to be feared that the last decades of years have not witnessed an improvement in the national character, or tested favourably their political constitution, while they have brought into salient caricature relief some of the rougher and more disagreeable features of their old, blended with some of those peculiar to their new countrymen, the aboriginal Redskins. And this half-caste physiognomy, however it may account for some peculiar phenomena, presents anything but an amiable and unclouded aspect. Jeffrey, of Edinburgh, long ago made the remark, that there was something singularly wild in the eye of United States men, and a *noli me tangere* suspicious look, is too often the prominent feature of the countenance, betraying rather the swaggering littleness of conscious inferiority, than the calm dignity of inherent power—the mien of the *parvenu* rather than the patrician.

In the deportment of the Confederate States towards us, since their lamentable agitations commenced, though we have unaccountably looked on them with coldness and reserve, we have remarked a very different spirit, and this is apt to excite the impression, that the mantle of persistent and unprovoked alienation and hostility, which has been so long the diagnostic uniform of the Washington Government, has in the North had its home and its shrine.

But is it refreshing and satisfactory to stand still and see a high-spirited people struggling for national independence crushed to death by a domineering and hated enemy? Have we forgotten our English love of fair play—our sympathy for the weaker side? Weaker the South undoubtedly is,

in wealth—numbers—munitions of war—deprived of intercourse with other countries by a cruel and barbarous blockade, that allows them no foreign aid—hardly any intelligence from them, but what is filtered through the fallacious medium of their antagonists' reports, though we might have had reliable information, if we had placed "Correspondents" with their armies as well as with the others—hardly aware of the existence of England, but by a negative and ambiguous neutrality, oppressive and hostile in its effects only to them—their coloured population a source of anxiety, perhaps alarm, rather than of military strength—the invaded not the invaders—involuntary not voluntary warfare. We lavished our good wishes on Poland—Belgium—Hungary—Circassia—Italy—have we none to spare for 8 millions of people mostly our own descendants, inhabiting a splendid country many times larger than our own Britain? We may not perhaps actively interpose in this fratricidal quarrel—the fashionable doctrine of non-intervention, which warbles so thrillingly from the tongues of amateur jurisconsults, may forbid this, but can we find no kindness—no sympathy—aye, admiration for the noble and gallant bearing of the South, in the agonies and perils of her national travail? Whatever she may have thought of our attitude towards her, she seems comparatively to have withheld invective, and to have sustained her difficult and dangerous position with a dignity, ability, and manliness, to which we have been far from doing adequate justice.

Perhaps the governments of France and England distrust the amicable spirit of the South, and her ability to achieve her independence. But who need doubt her amicable and pacific spirit, when we reflect how essential this is to her interest and safety; and who that remembers the successful resistance of Holland for so many years against the whole

might of Spain, can imagine that, with fortitude and prudence, the South will not now, or shortly hereafter, work out her own deliverance.

The only thing we can pretend to say against her is, that slavery is there established ; but this is a point of domestic arrangement with which we have no right to meddle ; nor is it a novelty, or affecting us more than other nations, with whom we maintain friendly and commercial intercourse, whether slave States or free.

Against the Federal North, however, we have to be very vigilantly on our guard, and, by never trusting to them, we shall escape many panics, repudiations, and emigrations ; and turn our attention to our noble colonies, that can supply us with everything the globe can produce. What *they* mostly require from us is *men*, and these we have been passively and suicidally allowing to be furnished by us to our *dear* hostile relatives. Especially should we look to our American possessions, on which this turbulent and ambitious people have never ceased to cast their acquisitive longings, and exhibit their lupine pretexts for war. It is enough for them to fancy a country as convenient for them to possess, to use every art to compass this. Their doings in central America, Mexico, and Cuba, are proofs of this. This wicked desire to grasp, by any means, even the most unjustifiable, the unchallenged possessions of other nations, as enlightened as themselves, is not however to be confounded with the making use for the advancement of civilization, of wildernesses roamed over only by savages and wild beasts—though it is not improbable that this principle recklessly applied to the country of the red Indian, has educated the white American to his national lust for colossal annexation.

Some politicians there are amongst ourselves, who one-sidedly and sordidly regard colonies only as sources of ex-

pense to us, they restrict their views to financial estimates. The nation pays these, it is true, but does it get no valuable return, in their enormous markets rapidly increasing, in their facilities for reciprocally useful emigration, and the prospective advantages of mutual alliance and strength? Why not attach them all still more to us, by giving them a share of our parliamentary representation? Could four or five new members in the House of Commons from all these splendid young empires produce any effect but a salutary one in our national councils, or any upsetting of organic constitutional balance. What has become of the statesman-like view of this subject, once so favoured by many of our public men of all parties—Lord Derby among the rest—that colonial representation is an act of justice to them, a bond of union with England? Why not also confer on some of their citizens titles of rank, which many of them well deserve, and earnestly listen to every suggestion for their honour and prosperity with the most prompt and practical solicitude? The postal communication with Australia—the judicious arrangements of the relations of the Cape Colony with the trans-orange Dutch boors—the extension of the Trunk line railway of Canada to Halifax, are among the prominent and immediate objects of attention; while Canada should abandon her inexpedient and impolitic course of high import duties, and set herself heartily to work in improving her defensive resources. America talks of conquering Canada—let her rather look to retaining Maine. Our last war with her was one of defence. If the British Government had done its duty, it should not have ended it, without the cession of a convenient Atlantic sea-port for Canada; and, in any future rupture, this should be kept in view as a *sine qua non*, and then some boundary definitions, and *red*

lines on maps, would have to be adjusted, which might perhaps produce a little revulsion in her doctrines of aggrandizement. *Their* intention is not attempted to be concealed—it is unblushingly avowed to be—to steal a march on our American dependencies. Whether the Confederates separate finally, or for the present yield ; whether the North retain that democratic constitution, which is hardly probable, or convert it into a more military and irresponsible form, the unscrupulous and uncalculating clamour of the Federals will be for war with us, and their bands of condottieri, now inuring to recklessness and rapine, will be let loose on our neighbouring provinces. Their habit is to contemplate war with England, not as a defence of right, or a punishing of wrong, but as opportunity for conquest and spoliation, and, when it suits their convenience, a pretext is never wanting. The island of San Juan, as the more ready facility, is at present held *in retento* ; but if any doubt attaches to the claim of either party to it, let it, at every risk, remain unpossessed, and unoccupied. No reliance can be placed on such a people, and this is one valuable lesson of wise precaution, which the late stormy and astounding events in the New World—by disclosing more effectually to us their real character—has impressed upon us. But “fore-warned” is alone not “fore-armed ;” defensive measures should be taken with completeness and celerity, as if we were in full view of a vigorous and uncompromising warfare. Properly prepared, we have nothing to fear from this hectoring race of people who will never rest till they have disabused themselves of the arrogant idea that we are afraid of them ; and until they have provoked, and fatally experienced, what they now affect to undervalue—the full might of the hostility of the British Empire.

Some may think that the foregoing remarks on American

affairs contain epithets and expressions which might better have been omitted. Silence, panegyric, even "cousin" caresses, have been fruitlessly tried, to woo back to us the filial kindness and duty of our kindred. I have stated nothing but what I believe to be fact, or fair inference, and, if this be the case, I see no reason why we should be more chary in our expressions, or more mincing in our gait, before America, than towards other nations whose doings, when we deem them ignoble or unjust, we never spare to reprobate. Moreover, outspokening is an attribute of which the Yankee republic, its great exemplar, ought to be the last to complain. There may be other critics, who would interpret these sentiments into those of "aristocrats"—promoters of war—lovers of slavery—haters of democracy. Democracy we do indeed hate, if it be, as in America, a name for far worse—a subterfuge for the most rampant tyranny. We love the utmost freedom, civil and religious, that man can enjoy and attain. We hate all despotism, whether of mobs, majorities, or monarchs—all hypocrisy and injustice, whether in North or South, "down-East," or "up-West." We do not think it either honourable or prudent tamely to yield to pretension and encroachment, but more dignified and safe, boldly to confront and resist them. It is surely full time for men to reason unreservedly on the grand issues of national events, without being whirled about on the eddies of party strife, without becoming obnoxious to hostile personalities. Shame to think that our charity is so contracted, our respect for the honesty and judgment of our fellow-men is so soiled and perverted, that we cannot allow ourselves even to imagine a man glancing at any particular question, except in the interests of faction. We feel deeply for America, weltering in the slough of misery and passion,

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into which she has wantonly and obstinately plunged herself. But we must feel, and speak too, for ourselves. Let her tread the path of moderation, equity, and honour, and England, who neither fears nor envies her, will cordially welcome her to confidence and respect.

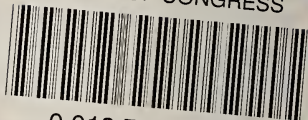
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